

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 19594 01 OF 03 061141Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SIL-01 LAB-04 OMB-01 /086 W

----- 022804

R 061130Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2661

INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 19594

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PLAB, FR

SUBJECT: PC NEW STRATEGY AFFECTING LABOR

REF: PARIS 18105

1. SUMMARY: COMMUNIST PARTY STRATEGY AT THE ENTER-
PRISE LEVEL IS TO INCREASE NUMBER OF CELLS AND TO
TIGHTEN CONTROL OVER THE CGT BY REPLACING COMPANY CGT
LEADERS BY YOUNGER ONES MORE OBEDIENT TO PARTY DIRECT-
ION. THIS IS CAUSING PROBLEMS FOR THE CGT IN TERMS
OF ITS IMAGE AND RESULTS IN PLANT ELECTIONS. IN OUR
OPINION PC IS NO LONGER RELYING ON MASS ACTIONS
THROUGH CGT STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS AS INSTRUMENTS
OF POLITICAL PRESSURE BUT ON ITS ABILITY TO USE A
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 19594 01 OF 03 061141Z

SMALL NUMBER OF DISCIPLINED PARTY MEMBERS OCCUPYING

KEY POSITIONS IN PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES TO BRING PRODUCTION TO A HALT. GOF OFFICIAL FINDS NEW PC STRATEGY WORRISOME. END SUMMARY.

2. REFTEL DESCRIBED THE ALL-OUT SURPRISE SUMMER OFFENSIVE BY THE PCF FOR THE OBVIOUS PURPOSE OF STEMMING ITS SLIPPAGE IN IMAGE AND ELECTORAL POWER. THE PURPOSE OF THIS TELEGRAM IS TO FOCUS ON A MORE INTRIGUING OPERATION THE PCF HAS BEEN RUNNING FOR THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS WHICH HAS BEEN PUZZLING TO THE OBSERVER, WORRISOME TO EMPLOYERS AND GOF, AND CONFUSING TO THE TRADE UNION LEADERS AT LARGE.

3. THERE IS SUFFICIENT HARD EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT THE PCF HAS DEVELOPED A NEW STRATEGY FOR ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CGT AND LABOR IN GENERAL. THIS STRATEGY CONSISTS OF A SYSTEMATIC EFFORT AT THE COMPANY LEVEL TO ASSUME GREATER CONTROL OF CGT OPERATIONS BY REPLACING THE EXISTING CGT LEADERS WHO IN MOST INSTANCES ARE OLDER EXPERIENCED TRADE UNIONISTS WHO, EVEN IF MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, HAD LEARNED FROM EXPERIENCE TO DRAW A CLEAR LINE BETWEEN PURELY TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES AND POLITICAL OPERATIONS. THE REPLACEMENTS ARE INVARIABLY YOUNGER MEN, INEXPERIENCED IN TRADE UNION MATTERS, NEOPHYTES AS FAR AS DEALING WITH MANAGEMENT, BUT DISCIPLINED PARTY MEMBERS READY TO FOLLOW BLINDLY PC INSTRUCTIONS.

4. FURTHERMORE THE PC, WHICH FOR THE LAST 2 YEARS HAD MOUNTED A MAJOR DRIVE TO EXPAND AND INCREASE THE NUMBER OF PARTY CELLS AT THE COMPANY LEVEL, HAS BEGUN TO GO A STEP FURTHER BY UTILIZING THESE CELLS FOR PURELY TRADE UNION BUSINESS. THE RESULT IS A TENDENCY TO USURP THE CGT FUNCTIONS AS A TRADE UNION.

5. THE PCF OPERATION HAS PRODUCED A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT WHICH, AS DESCRIBED BELOW, MORE THAN JUSTIFIES THE PERSISTENT QUESTIONS THAT ARE BEING ASKED ABOUT WHAT IS THE PC UP TO. FIRST THE IMPACT:
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 19594 01 OF 03 061141Z

(A) CGT IMAGE WITH THE RANK AND FILE IS BEGINNING TO SHOW EROSION. DESPITE ITS COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP AT THE TOP, CGT HAS HAD A REMARKABLE SUCCESS THROUGHOUT THE YEARS IN MAINTAINING THE IMAGE OF A TRULY TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION CAPABLE OF FOCUSING ON BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES AND OF GETTING RESULTS IN BARGAINING WITH MANAGEMENT. ACCORDINGLY, WORKERS HAVE BEEN

JOINING CGT IN GOOD FAITH AS AN EFFECTIVE LABOR ORGANIZATION AND CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY OVERLOOKED THE FACT OF THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP AT THE TOP.

(B) THE OPEN INTERFERENCE OF THE PC WITH THE CGT LEADERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES IS BRINGING HOME FOR THE FIRST TIME PERHAPS THE DEGREE OF THE PC INFLUENCE ON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 19594 02 OF 03 061142Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SIL-01 LAB-04 OMB-01 /086 W

----- 022762

R 061130Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2662

INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 19594

CGT. FRENCH UNION MEMBERS WHILE RESPONSIVE TO SOME IDEOLOGICAL SLOGANEERING ARE BASICALLY ADVERSED TO TOO MUCH POLITICKING ON THE PART OF THEIR UNIONS, AS THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LAST THREE YEARS HAS DEMONSTRA-

TED, BECAUSE OF REPEATED FAILURES ON THE PART OF
CGT-CFDT TO ORGANIZE STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS.

(C) EVIDENCE OF THE EROSION OF THE CGT IMAGE IS NOW
BEGINNING TO COME IN THE FORM OF REDUCED PERCENTAGES
OBTAINED BY CGT ELECTORAL LISTS IN PLANT ELECTIONS
FOR DELEGATES OF PERSONNEL OR PLANT COMMITTEES
(COMITES D'ENTREPRISE). THE MOST DRAMATIC SUCH
DEVELOPMENT TOOK PLACE IN FOUR OF THE SEVEN RENAULT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 19594 02 OF 03 061142Z

PLANTS WHERE CGT LOSSES RANGED FROM 6 TO AN UN-
BELIEVABLE 29 PERCENT, MOSTLY IN FAVOR OF THE CFDT.
IT IS PRECISELY IN THESE RENAULT PLANTS THAT THE PC
OPERATION OF OUTRIGHT COMPETITION WITH CGT TOOK ITS
MOST EXTREME FORM. IN ONE OF THE OTHER THREE PLANTS
THE CGT LEADERS, ALTHOUGH PC MEMBERS, SIMPLY
REFUSED TO ACCEPT OTHER ASSIGNMENTS BECAUSE OF THEIR
ATTACHMENT TO THE CGT. THEY WERE THUS ABLE TO MAIN-
TAIN CGT'S PERCENTAGE IN THE PLANT ELECTIONS.

(D) EMPLOYERS AND MANAGEMENT IN GENERAL ARE TROUBLED
BY THE FACT THAT THE NEW CGT LEADERS ARE INEXPERIENCED
IN HANDLING THE DAY-TO-DAY BUSINESS AND ARE EVEN
SHOWING AN AVERSION TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. IN
FACT, THERE ARE SPECIFIC REPORTS OF CASES WHERE THE
CGT LEADERS HAD REACHED AN AGREEMENT WITH MANAGEMENT
ONLY TO BE TOLD BY THE PCF LEADERS AT THE PLANT THAT
THEY SHOULD GO BACK ON THEIR WORD AND RETURN TO
MANAGEMENT DEMANDING MORE.

(E) ABOVE ALL, MANAGEMENT IS PUZZLED ABOUT THE
PURPOSE OF THIS ENTIRE PC EXERCISE OF INTERFERING
WITH TRADE UNION MATTERS AND OF GIVING TOP PRIORITY
TO RECRUITMENT FOR THE PC AND THE CREATION OF NEW
CELLS. PREDICTABLY EVERYTIME AN EMPLOYER REPRESENTA-
TIVE EXPRESSES PUBLICLY HIS MISGIVING ABOUT THE PC
ACTIVITY IN THE WORKSITES, THE PCF AND CGT CRY FOUL
AND SPEAK OF "WORKERS POLITICAL RIGHTS" IN THE INTER-
PRISE AS A PARALLEL TO THEIR TRADE UNION RIGHTS
ALREADY RECOGNIZED.

6. EMPLOYERS HAVE ALREADY COMPLAINED TO GOF ABOUT
THIS NEW SITUATION AND GOF OFFICIALS AT VARIOUS
LEVELS HAVE BEGUN TO FOCUS ON THE PROBLEM BUT SO FAR
HAVE NOT DEVELOPED ANY STRATEGY OR ANY TECHNIQUE OF
DEALING WITH IT. FOR THE TIME BEING THEY SEEM IN-
CLINED TO RELY ON THE RANK AND FILE WHO, AS WAS
POINTED OUT ABOVE, ARE REJECTING THE PC INTERFERENCE
AND ARE REVISING THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CGT.

7. THE KEY QUESTION, HOWEVER, IS WHAT IS THE PCF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 19594 02 OF 03 061142Z

PURPOSE IN EMBARKING ON A STRATEGY WHICH OBVIOUSLY
UNDERMINES THE CGT POSITION AND INFLUENCE DESPITE THE
FACT THAT HERETOFORE THE CGT HAS BEEN CONSIDERED AS
THE PCF'S MAJOR INSTRUMENT OF POWER AND INFLUENCE?

(A) THE FIRST EXPLANATION IS TO BE SOUGHT IN THAT
RELENTLESS COMPETITION IN WHICH THE PCF HAS FOUND
ITSELF WITH THE PS. ONE OF PC'S MAJOR TRUMP CARDS IS
ITS CLAIM THAT IT IS "A WORKING CLASS PARTY." THIS
NOT ONLY EXPLAINS THE PC DRIVE FOR COMPANY-LEVEL
RECRUITMENT BUT ALSO ITS DETERMINATION TO BRING THE
CGT UNDER TIGHTER CONTROL SO AS TO REDUCE THE POTEN-
TIAL INFLUENCE OF CGT'S OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WHICH
IS NON-COMMUNIST OR NOT EVEN COMMUNIST ELECTORS.

(B) THE APPARENT PRICE WHICH THE PCF IS PREPARED TO
PAY FOR THE CREDIBILITY OF ITS LABEL AS A WORKING
CLASS PARTY SEEMS TO BE PROHIBITIVE ON THE BASIS OF
THE RENAULT PLANT ELECTIONS MENTIONED ABOVE. THERE-
FORE A SUSPICION HAS DEVELOPED THAT PERHAPS A MORE
DEVIOUS PURPOSE EXISTS BEHIND THIS ENTIRE PC OPERA-
TION WHICH OUTWEIGHS THE PRICE CGT MUST PAY FOR IT.

8. CONCLUSION: (A) WE BELIEVE THAT WHAT THE PC IS
REALLY AIMING AT IS PUTTING TOGETHER A TIGHTLY-
CONTROLLED PARTY ORGANIZATION IN KEY ENTERPRISES NOT
FOR THE PURPOSE OF BEING ABLE TO ORGANIZE TRADITIONAL
MASS ACTIONS OF STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS, BUT FOR
THE PURPOSE OF BEING ABLE TO STOP PRODUCTION IN KEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 19594 03 OF 03 061140Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SIL-01 LAB-04 OMB-01 /086 W

----- 022782

R 061130Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2663

INFO AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 19594

INDUSTRIES BY RELYING ON A SMALL NUMBER OF DISCIPLINED
PARTY MEMBERS.

(B) IN OTHER WORDS WHAT THE PCF SEEMS TO BE DOING
IS BORROWING A PAGE FROM THE EXTREME LEFTIST BOOK
WHICH RELIES ON THE ABILITY OF MINORITY GROUPS OCCUPY-
ING KEY POSITIONS IN PLANTS TO SO UNDERMINE THE PRO-
DUCTION PROCESS AS TO CREATE CONDITIONS OF CHAOS AND
PARALYSIS.

(C) THIS EXPLANATION IS NOW SHARED BY THE PRIME
MINISTER'S ADVISER ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS
WHO, TOO, HAD BEEN BOTHERED BY THE APPARENT COUNTER-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 19594 03 OF 03 061140Z

PRODUCTIVE RESULTS OF THE PC OPERATION WITH REGARD
TO CGT. IN THE COURSE OF CONVERSATION ON 25 JUNE,
THE ADVISER WENT SO FAR AS TO ADMIT THAT IF THIS
EXPLANATION WERE TO BE SUSTAINED BY FUTURE EVIDENCE,
THEN THE PC STRATEGY WITH REGARD TO THE INFILTRATION
OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD IS A GREAT DEAL MORE WORRISOME
THAN HE HAD BELIEVED, ADDING IRONICALLY THAT IT SHOULD
BE JUST AS WORRISOME FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE
EVENT OF A 1978 VICTORY.

RUSH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY STRENGTH, PARTY UNITY, UNION GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, PARTY LEADERS, PERSONNEL ASSIGNMENTS, LABOR UNIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976PARIS19594
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760259-0964
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760788/aaaaczfj.tel
Line Count: 332
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 PARIS 18105
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <13 AUG 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PC NEW STRATEGY AFFECTING LABOR
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, PGOV, FR, PC, PCF, CGT
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006